# THE
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# EDUCATIONAL
# SOCIOLOGY

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# The JOURNAL of
# EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

*A Magazine of Theory and Practice*

## EDITORIAL

With this issue, THE JOURNAL begins its fifteenth year of continuous publication. Throughout this span of years, it has sought continually to exert leadership in bringing a functional approach to education based upon basic research in sociology. It has stressed the importance of conceiving education as a total process in which the school is but one of the many influences leading to social control. It has dealt realistically with fundamental social problems related to the entire field of education.

In the same spirit of seeking ever to face new problems, THE JOURNAL will devote its issues this year, beginning with the October number, to "Education during the War and After." No problem is more real or more challenging than this; for never, not even in 1917–1918, has education been faced with the necessity of seeking to meet such emergency needs, yet at the same time to conserve basic values both now and for the aftermath of war. What changes in methods and curricula, in administration and time schedules, and even in fundamental purposes to be achieved are only now beginning to be evident.

The October issue will be an overview of the entire field with articles by Paul J. McNutt, Dean E. George Payne, Reinhold Schairer, A. J. Keller, Charles Merriam, and Floyd W. Reeves. The

November issue will describe the Tennessee Valley Authority developments as one illustration of social and educational planning through government.

Other issues are: November—T.V.A.—A Planned Pattern for Living; December—Civilian Morale; January—Women in National Defense; February—The School as a Defense Agency; March —Private Organizations in National Defense; April—Boom Towns of Defense; May—Social Impact of Military Defense.

THE JOURNAL will also be the official medium of publication of the United States Committee on Education Reconstruction and will include reports of research and activities carried forward by this committee.

It is our sincere hope that THE JOURNAL may play some small part in maintaining a balance and a sense of values through whatever the months immediately ahead may bring for America. At the same time we should look to the future and indicate steps that must be taken now if democracy is to remain a living reality.

# MEASURING GROUP BEHAVIOR DYNAMICALLY

LEWIS H. ROHRBAUGH

Many different approaches have been made to the problem of measuring group behavior. Most of these have attempted to explain and predict human relationships; a few have proposed also to furnish a means of possible eventual control of such relationships. All approaches to this problem appear to fall short of attainment in proportion to the degree to which each employs static instruments in an effort to observe and measure dynamic situations. If this general evaluation of the chief weaknesses of present approaches is correct, then the first step in the direction of accurately measuring group behavior will be the elimination from present methods of all that is static.

This article proposes to describe briefly a development which, if not entirely dynamic in nature, is at least much less static than presently available devices. It will attempt also to illustrate the possibilities of such a method by applying it to actual complexes of group relationships. The theory in question is that approach to social behavior which is known as psychological field theory. Just to the extent to which it succeeds in reflecting group process, this method should represent a step in the direction of measuring group behavior on a scientific basis.

Psychological field theory, which has been so ably presented in J. F. Brown's *Psychology and the Social Order,* looks on the organism as a system of energy, rather than as a machine. Energy is conceived of as existing in organized systems, of which the human being is one. The pattern of these systems determines the activity of the individual part. Field theory discards the use of language as a medium for reflecting group behavior, and uses instead the language of constructs, which it terms "genotypic" description.

This method is contrasted to the usual descriptive language, which Lewin first called "phenotypic," the language of data. In

contrast to our usual expression of experience in terms of phenomena, the genotypic description is in terms of the underlying dynamic situation. For example, a debate in Congress and a political conflict within a State may be different phenotypically, but may resemble similar genotypes since both are conflicts of power.

Although both psychological and physical fields are spatial constructs, only a position in the latter can be treated on a geometric basis in terms of a metric scale. Positions in psychological fields cannot be treated with similar accuracy, and we can distinguish only fairly large regions in these fields. Because these cannot be considered as metricized, field psychology employs for the consideration of behavior a phase of geometry called topology. Geometry as seen in topology is the science of positional relationships and is used to handle the nonmetrical aspects of space, particularly the relationship between various regions, or points within these regions—individuals. Thus, topology lends itself to the study of the connectivity or the "belongingness" of spatial regions, furnishing us with the mathematical treatment needed for the measurement of psychological or social fields or problems.

Field theory uses several topological variants or spatial constructs to which phenomenal descriptions of social behavior are ordered and into which they are translated. The behavior of an organism may be said to be directed toward a goal.

Because group membership gives its members characteristics distinguishing them from nonmembers, membership-character is the reflection of the individual's behavior within a bounded social region. Psychological field theory also employs certain dynamic or genotypic variants. These are fluidity, degree of freedom of social locomotion, permeability, potency of membership-character and vector. The topological concepts we have defined permit us to place individuals and goals in certain special regions, to designate possible locomotion, boundaries to be crossed, and regions to be entered. But they do not inform us of the locomotions themselves, or of the media to be used.

The four problems which follow represent phases of the same changing situation. They represent stages in the development of a small town we shall call Walkton. As a whole, the case of Walkton is theoretical. However, the four phases of Walkton development are taken from actual experience. We shall describe stages of this development, then translate these descriptions into the representations of field theory.

1. *Walkton as the center of an agricultural area.* Ten years ago, Walkton was the center of an agricultural area. There was a definite coherence about Walkton and the surrounding district, to a degree approaching insularity.

Between urban and rural interests were few conflicts. The most important arose from the fact that the rural folk, lacking a secondary school, were forced to pay extra taxes for their children who attended high school in Walkton.

Absence of major conflicts was due to the fact that urban and rural residents had so many things in common. All belonged to one of the several Protestant churches in Walkton. Church membership exercised great influence on all individuals. Between various churches there was a good deal of rivalry. But most congregations had members from both rural and urban sections and this tended to level any town-country differences. Local government was considered of mild importance. There were two sections to the only political party; most people belonged passively to one of these.

The above description is in terms of the language of data, a phenotypic description. Described in terms of field theory the situation would appear as in figure 1. The index figures represent the relative power which the membership-characters have in determining the social-psychological reactions of the individual. Church membership is assigned the index figure 5, while membership in the two sections of the political party are assigned the figure 3, membership in various other groups only 1. This is because church membership was relatively of more importance to the individual than was membership in either section of the political party or in

other major or minor groups. It should be remembered that index figures here are not metrical indices; they are comparative only.

2. *Walkton becomes industrialized.* The complex of relationships in Walkton changed considerably ten years ago. Several mills were built and Walkton very quickly became an industrial center. Most manual work was performed by foreign-born Poles who came in large numbers and settled "across the tracks," and were treated with a reserved tolerance by those native to Walkton.

Because of their religion—Catholic—their nationality, different economic level, and segregation, the Poles had several effects upon the older community. Rivalry between Protestant churches became less marked; the churches became more conscious of what they termed fundamental differences between Catholicism and Protestantism, less conscious of old differences between their own groups. More attention was paid by the older inhabitants to political matters. No attempts were made by either of the political parties to draw in Polish votes. Some well-meant charitable undertakings were begun. The Protestant ministers attempted to fraternize with the one or two Catholic priests, and classes in literacy and citizenship were instituted; but there was no real acceptance of the Poles as an integral part of the community.

In the language of field theory, this situation would appear as in figure 2. Introduction of certain barriers increased the potency of membership-character for rural and urban native resident regions. Correlated with this was an increase in permeability of the barriers constituted by membership-character in Protestant churches. Thus, within these limited social regions there was increase in the degree of freedom of social locomotion, although general fluidity of the entire field lessened and vectors back of the barriers separating urban native resident and urban Polish regions pointed toward a definite conflict situation.

3. *Walkton becomes the scene of real community conflict.* Between ten years ago and one year ago Walkton changed funda-

Expanding fluidity for all individuals and groups
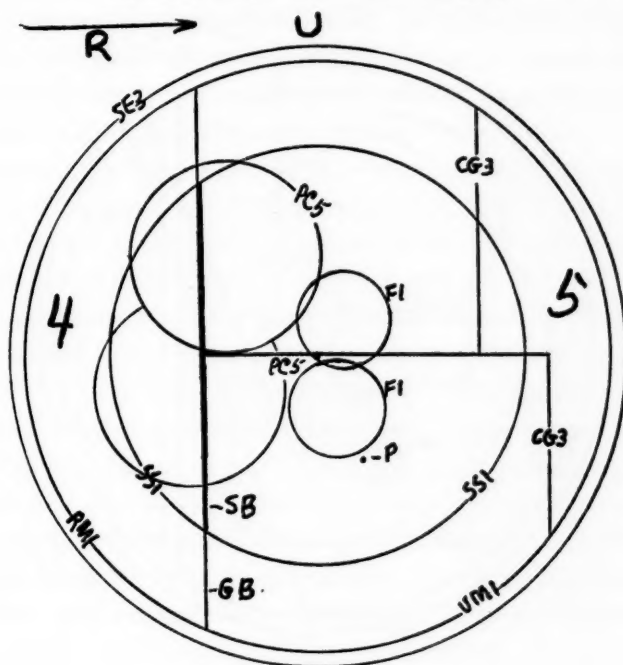


FIGURE I. WALKTON AS THE CENTER OF AN AGRICULTURAL AREA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4, 5 | — | Degrees of freedom of social locomotion |
| GB, SB | — | Barriers, geographical, school |
| PC 5 | — | Protestant church membership-characters and potencies |
| CG 3 | — | Political parties in civic government membership, character and potencies |
| F 1 | — | Minor groups, membership-characters, and potency |
| P | — | Point-regions |
| SE 3 | — | Membership-character in Walkton socioeconomic area and potency |
| R, U | — | Rural, urban, regions |
| RM 1, UM 1 | — | Rural and urban membership-characters and potencies |
| SS 1 | — | School setup, membership-character and potency |

Approaching conflict situation
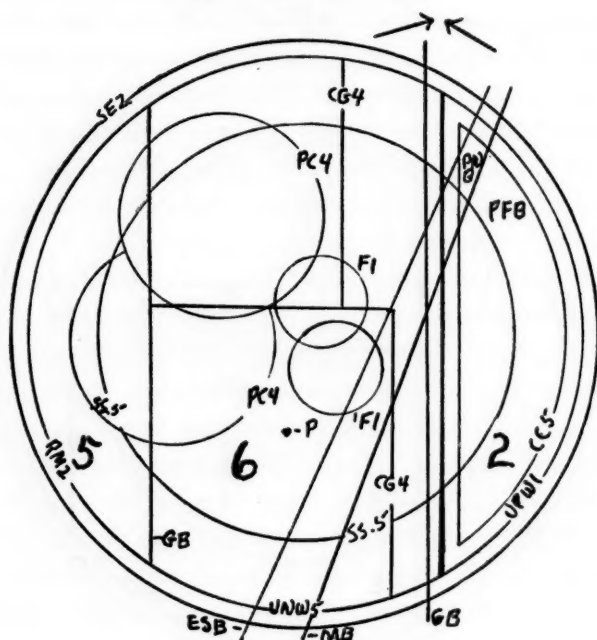


FIGURE 2. WALKTON BECOMES INDUSTRIALIZED

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 5, 6, 2 | — | Degrees of freedom of social locomotion |
| ESB, GB, MB | — | Barriers; economic status, geographical, mores |
| PC 4, CC 5 | — | Church (Protestant, Catholic) membership-characters, potencies |
| CG 4 | — | Political parties in civic government, membership-characters and potencies |
| F 1 | — | Minor groups, membership-characters and potencies |
| P | — | Point-regions |
| RM 2, UNW 5, UPW 1 | — | Membership-characters and potencies; Rural, Urban native Walkton, Urban Polish Walkton |
| PNB, PFB | — | Polish native-born, Polish foreign-born |
| SE 2 | — | Membership-character, Walkton socioeconomic area, and potency |
| SS 5 | — | School setup, membership-character and potency |

mentally. What was reserved tolerance on the part of the older inhabitants became definite animosity, and this in turn, along with other factors, conditioned the same attitude on the part of the Poles toward the native residents. To name a few of the numerous problems involved should suffice for our present purpose.

Although the Poles had moved in large numbers into the main sections of town, they remained segregated. Polish businesses of various types had been set up and had drawn all Polish trade from stores operated by non-Poles. The Polish group had begun to come of age in several ways. Economically their lot had improved, and the years had served to condition in them an understanding of and demand for some of the rights which were theirs as citizens, as taxpayers. Having no church buildings, they had been forced to gather in private homes, later in rented halls, and finally had built churches of their own. Devout Catholics always, their needs and interests had centered more than ordinarily around the church because of the struggle to secure meeting places, the attitude of the Protestant churches, and other factors. The growth and the influence of Catholicism had unified the Protestant churches.

Intense Protestant-Catholic feeling was an important part of the broad conflict between Poles and native Walktonites. In the political sphere the Poles constituted a sizeable section of Walkton's voters, with the result that they held the balance of power. Neither section of the one political party had made overt attempts to draw the Polish vote, and the Poles were on the verge of developing a political movement among themselves. Though they as yet had no share in civic machinery, their intensified nationality allegiance had made plain their potency in several elections where the split among factions of the older residents had been even. Polish neighborhoods had experienced difficulty in securing civic services which in other parts of Walkton were taken for granted. Streets were in bad repair and continued so, in contrast to those only a few squares away. This same contrast was as true of other tax-supported services.

Because the school board was an appointed body, and because the Poles had no hand in municipal government, the Poles had been unable to secure adjustment of some of the school problems which concerned them. Consequently, recourse to political action on a nationality basis received added impetus. In addition, because of the school situation and of Protestant-Catholic conflict, the Poles were considering setting up a parochial school system.

Within both Polish and native-born groups there had come many frictions. These would have been sharper but for the larger community conflicts. Within the Polish community, for example, there had arisen problems often present between foreign-born parents and native-born children. Parents thought in terms of Old World customs and ideas, and sought to impose these on their children, who were growing up under entirely different conditions and consequently looked upon the Old World customs as outmoded. This traditional conflict was subordinated by the tensions between the Poles and other residents of Walkton. There had been the customary conflicts within the group of older inhabitants, but to a smaller degree than usual. Urban-rural difficulties had disappeared completely.

The only hopeful spot in the entire community picture was represented by a small group of liberal, progressive individuals, native to Walkton, who viewed objectively the areas of community conflict and were attempting to resolve them. They felt that conflict hampered the development of Walkton, and they felt that conflict per se was unhealthy.

In figure 3 we note definite "restructurization" of the entire social field. The intraregional boundaries, looking upon the Polish and non-Polish areas as separate regions, became more permeable; the interregional boundaries became a great deal less permeable. Freedom of social locomotion decreased in both regions, particularly in the Polish region.

4. *Walkton becomes better adjusted.* In the last year several oc-

Conflict situation
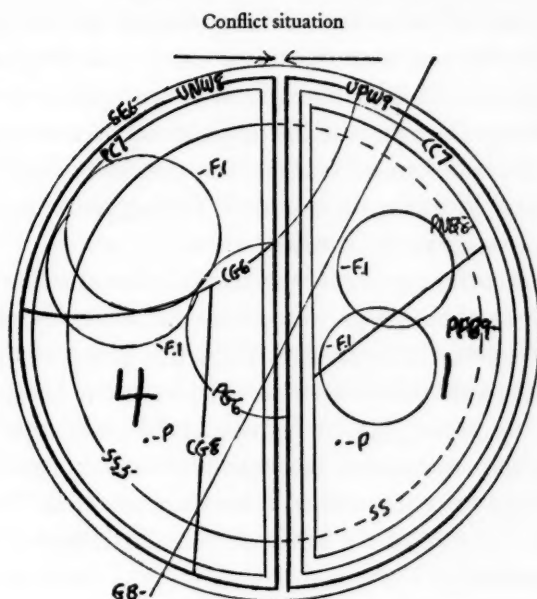


FIGURE 3. WALKTON AS TRUE CONFLICT SITUATION

| 4, 1 | — | Degrees of freedom of social locomotion |
|---|---|---|
| GB | — | Geographic barrier |
| PC 7, CC 7 | — | Church (Protestant and Catholic) membership-characters, potencies |
| CG 6, CG 8 | — | Political groups in civic government, membership-characters and potencies |
| F. 1 | — | Minor group membership-characters, potencies |
| PG 6 | — | Progressive group membership-character, potencies |
| P | — | Point-regions |
| PNP 8, PFB 9 | — | Membership-characters and potencies, Polish native-born and Polish foreign-born |
| SS 5, SS | — | School setup, membership-character and potencies |
| SE 5 | — | Membership-character Walkton socioeconomic area, potency |
| UNW 8, UPW 9 | — | Membership-characters and potencies, native Walkton, Polish Walkton |

currences have led to another definite change of the complex of relationships. One of these has been the industrial growth of a neighboring area. This has threatened the prosperity of Walkton, for her industries and those of the neighboring area are similar and both serve the same limited market. This development emphasized the fact that a Walkton divided and warring could not compete with an area free from such strife.

Another occurrence, with many ramifications, has been the surprising growth of the progressive group mentioned in our description of the Walkton of a year ago. Then, this group was somewhat impotent, its membership small, and its influence limited. In the last year it has grown, largely because of the realization by many that if Walkton was not to succumb to its sturdy new economic neighbor, steps toward a unified front were essential. The group's growth was in terms of the kinds of individuals drawn in, rather than in numbers.

One of the first steps of the group was along political lines. With the aid of Polish votes, and because of the recognized ability and integrity of the candidates offered, a number of strategic offices in the city government were won. Representative members of the Polish community were appointed to the school board, along with progressive representatives of the older Walkton group. The school system met the needs of the Polish community, eliminating the movement toward parochial schools. A number of other steps were achieved, such as a parent-education movement in each school, which laid effective groundwork for the leveling of nationality and church barriers.

The progressive group also drew within its framework a number of intelligent members of the Polish community. The two larger sections of the political party, now three parties in actuality, immediately went after Polish votes. This was in line with the plans of the progressive group, for the division of the Polish community on a political basis lessened nationality barriers. The progressive

group also developed an organization to meet the competition of the neighboring area. Drawn into this movement, which was supported by all of Walkton, were the businesses operated by the older Walkton residents and the newer Polish firms. It quickly became influential and effective, and, as in the case of the school system, had a definite unifying effect on the community at large. Because the tensions between older residents of Walkton and the Polish group have decreased greatly in other areas, a definite change in the Catholic-Protestant tension has resulted. Protestant churches have begun to function more as individual churches, and this has also been true of the Catholic churches. Conflict between first generation native-born Poles and the older foreign-born group has become more marked. Minor groups throughout the community have begun to assume greater importance to their members and to Walkton at large.

All the tensions of the last few years have by no means disappeared, but they have lessened and have become overshadowed by the economic threat to Walkton as a whole. The community is no longer divided into two conflicting parts. The greater number of conflict areas each involve fewer people.

Translated into field dynamics, Walkton in the past year would appear as in figure 4. We note a rearrangement of the entire field, due both to the threat from without, and to developments within the field. There is much greater variability in membership-character. Potencies of nationality and of church membership-character have decreased, and the barriers between the Polish and non-Polish regions are so permeable that they are hardly barriers at all; there is a common membership-character. Potencies of membership-character in certain minor groups, in individual Protestant churches for example, have increased. A greater number of social locomotions are possible for all individuals and for all groups, consequently the degrees of freedom of social locomotion are considerably higher and point to an expanding fluidity for the entire field.

Expanding fluidity for all individuals and groups
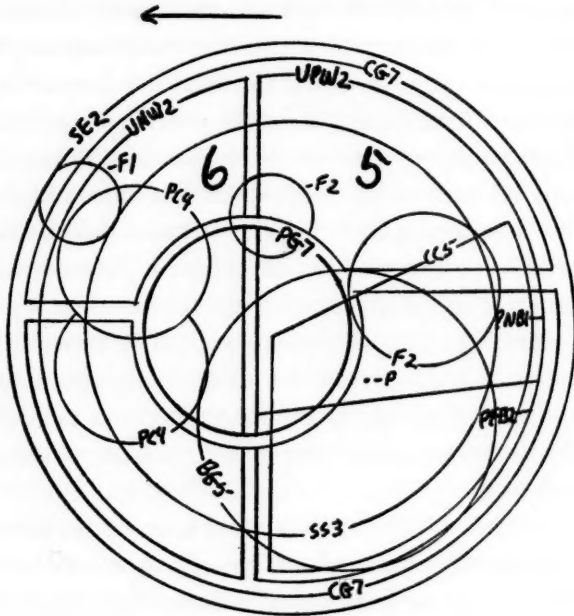


FIGURE 4. WALKTON BECOMES BETTER ADJUSTED

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6, 5 | — | Degrees of freedom of social locomotion |
| BG 5 | — | Business group membership-character and potency |
| CGT, CG 7 | — | Political groups in civic government, membership-characters and potency |
| PC 4, CC 5 | — | Church (Protestant and Catholic) membership-characters, potencies |
| GB | — | Geographical barrier |
| F 1, F 2 | — | Minor group membership-characters, potencies |
| PG 7 | — | Progressive group (civic government and other areas) membership-character and potency |
| P | — | Point regions |
| PNB, PFB 2 | — | Membership-characters and potencies, Polish native-born and Polish foreign-born |
| SS 3 | — | School setup, membership-character and potency |
| SE 2 | — | Membership-character, Walkton socioeconomic area, and potency |
| UNW 2, UPW 2 | — | Membership-character and potencies, native Walkton, Polish Walkton |

In field theory, or in any theory which attempts to reflect the constant change of group process, it is impossible to make broad generalizations. We can make statements that will hold only for a specific group situation at a particular time. To do otherwise would be to allow for the introduction of factors that are not dynamic. In terms of field psychology, the point-region is determined by means of its relative position in the whole field. Thus, what might be termed the personality of the individual is in essence his pattern of membership-characters, the potencies of which are constantly changing. And the minor group or groups in which he has membership-character are in turn determined by the structure of the larger social fields of which they represent limited areas. Consequently, findings concerning present behavior will have to be in terms of a dynamic treatment of the dynamic social field. This treatment must be of such a nature that it will permit the showing of correlations between the various factors in the entire situation.

Taking these four Walkton situations chronologically, we see that in terms of field theory certain necessary correlations can be indicated between the different variants in field structure. We can say, for example, that the decrease in the degree of freedom of social locomotion is decrease in variation of membership-character; we can say that decrease in degree of freedom of social locomotion varies with changes in the number and in the permeability of barriers. We can note accurately that with respect to the bounded social region represented by the older residents of Walkton, the threat from without resulted in an increasing "restructurization" of the social field, making for a decrease in the degree of freedom of social locomotion, greater permeability of group barriers for the group retaining membership character, and less variability in membership-character. Similarly we note that as the variability of membership-character increased there was an increase in the degree of freedom of social locomotion, and so on.

Certainly a thorough development of this approach should

permit of fairly accurate measurement and prediction of socio-logical and psychological change in both major and minor organized groupings, and with respect to the individual. Because minor groupings, and of course individuals, are dependent upon major groupings, an adequate treatment of the latter should in most cases suffice, in an enlarged sense, for predictions with regard to the former. That such a method of treating group behavior will topologically submit to mathematical study appears quite evident. Modern dynamical physics employs both the arithmetical and geometrical applications of mathematics for the study of systems of relationships, of force or power, undergoing change. Social relationships certainly revolve around problems of dynamics, of power, of force. Psychological field theory appears to represent a definite step forward toward the setting up of a verifiable mathematical methodology that will keep pace with and reflect, and thus enable measurement of, group behavior.

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# YOUTH AND NATIONAL MORALE[1]

DELBERT C. MILLER

The demands of national defense have brought a new prestige to youth as their services have become more important to the national state. Of the young men who fly the fighting planes of Great Britain, Winston Churchill, speaking for the people of his nation, said, "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few." Not only for the air arm but for the land and the sea, thousands of young men are being trained in warfare to defend all age groups of the community. In factory, mine, and classroom, youth are told they have an important role to play in the achievement of national goals. It is very important in the estimate of national strength to know whether the morale of our youth is high as they apply their energy to the tasks set for them.

Today, as the nation senses a danger to itself outside its borders, a most thorough inventory of resources is being made. The wealth of forest, farm, factory, and mine is being recorded, readied, and used. The abilities of our citizens are being assembled. However, there is another resource of tremendous importance which is not easily assayed and neatly recorded in bookkeepers' ledgers. This resource is national morale.

It is the purpose of this paper to explore the relationship between youth and national morale. Both are variables whose quantitative and qualitative characteristics are changing with increased rapidity under the triphammer blows of domestic and international imperatives. While it is hard to describe and prescribe for youth it is even more difficult to speak with evidence about national morale. This concept now so widely and glibly used is backed with almost no verifiable statistics. In fact, contemporary records display only a few theoretical attempts to identify the component social psychological

[1] Based on a radio address over KWSC, Pullman, Washington, February 18, 1941.

factors and to describe their association with national morale.[2] For tentative consideration pending verification it seems feasible to set out as components of national morale certain factors which might secure the assent of reflective observers.

### A THEORY SUGGESTING THE COMPONENTS OF NATIONAL MORALE AND AN EVALUATION OF THESE FACTORS IN MORALE TODAY

National morale may be defined as the degree of confidence held by all the people in the ability of the nation to cope with the future and to wrest from it the goals desired by the people.[3] This confidence depends upon the following conditions: (1) belief in the superiority of social structure in the in-group; (2) degree and manner by which personal goals are identified with national goals; (3) judgments of the competence of national leadership; (4) belief that resources are available to hurl back any threats from the out-group; (5) confidence that the national goals which are to be achieved have a permanency.

1. Unshaking confidence in the superiority of the in-group rests upon the belief that our social institutions are or can satisfy the needs of all the people. How great is this confidence?

Dr. Hutchins of the University of Chicago said in a national radio address on January 23, 1941, that he believed that "we are morally and intellectually unprepared to execute the moral mission to which the President calls us."[4] He continues to say, "We have it on highest authority that one third of the nation is ill fed, ill clothed, and ill housed. The latest figures of the National Resources Board show that almost precisely 55% of our people are living on family incomes

[2] H. C. Goddard, *Morale* (New York: George H. Doran, 1919); G. Stanley Hall, *Morale* (New York: D. Appleton, 1920); William E. Hocking, *Morale and Its Enemies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918); Emory S. Bogardus, "National Morale," *Sociology and Social Research,* 25 (January–February 1941), 203–212.

[3] For an attempt at operational definition *see* D. C. Miller, "The Measurement of National Morale," *American Sociological Review,* 6 (August 1941).

[4] Robert M. Hutchins, *America and the War*. Pamphlet available from the President's Office, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, p. 9.

of less than $1,250 a year. This sum, says *Fortune* magazine, will not support a family of four. On this basis more than half of our people are living below the minimum level of subsistence. More than half the army which will defend democracy will be drawn from those who have had this experience of the economic benefits of 'the American way of life.' "

"We know that we have had till lately nine million unemployed and that we should have still if it were not for our military preparations. . . . For ten years we have not known how to use the productive capacity we had. We have want and fear today. We shall have want and fear when the present needs for defense are past."[5]

These are strong words backed with disheartening fact. Although we can point with pride to our very high standard of living, the inequalities of wealth and income do not permit our attention to be drawn completely away from the importance of efficient domestic institutions. The barrage of patriotic slogan and catchword played to the tune of the national anthem cannot alone bring confidence in the justice of our social institutions and a determined effort to defend them.

Strength for national morale comes with an understanding and appreciation of the specific values which the nation affords and the principles for which it stands.[6] Just as there is a grave danger that patriotic appeals may be made to bolster morale with neglect of the important task of making social institutions function, so likewise there is a danger that the acceptance of our way of life has become a complacency undisturbed by threats not clearly understood. In order to believe in the superiority of the institutions set up in one's own society it is necessary to be able to compare them with those of other societies. Few of us have been able to live or to travel in other nations. We must rely upon the descriptions brought to us by

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[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10.
[6] Emory S. Bogardus, "National Morale," *Sociology and Social Research*, 25 (January–February 1941), 206.

observers. Such information must be accurately portrayed in order that we may evaluate the strength and weakness of our own society. This information must then be made freely available so that every person may decide whether this democratic structure with all of its weaknesses has a present reward and a future promise surpassing all alternative political and social systems. This is the first step in the education of an alert body of citizens. A heavy obligation rests also upon all of our leaders to bring accurate information and sincere opinion to public attention regarding the extent of any external threats. When such fact and opinion are freely disseminated a public opinion will develop that will largely determine the courage and responsiveness of national effort. It is my belief that national morale will develop with greatest strength not about a contemplation of our present standard of living but in a clarification and preliminary demonstration of future possibilities of democracy.

2. The morale of a nation usually becomes an object of public interest only in time of war or danger of war. During peacetime we tend to take our national principles for granted. When there are no threats to our national security our people are seeking personal goals to be achieved in business, family, church, and club. These personal goals may include a desire for a steady and respected job, a deep religious faith, a happy home life, enjoyable leisure, and endless other goals sought by the individual for himself and for those with whom he identifies his happiness.[7] Life is satisfying to the average individual when he, his family, and close friends are achieving the goals they consider important. The effectiveness of social institutions is judged by the success they have shown in providing facilities for the achievement of these personal goals.

During a national emergency, people must be willing to accept, if necessary, a disruption of their habitual life and a denial of goals

[7] Delbert C. Miller, "The Morale of College Trained Adults," *American Sociological Review*, 5 (December 1940), 830–889; "Personality Factors in the Morale of College Trained Adults," *Sociometry*, 3 (October 1940), 367–382; "Economic Factors in the Morale of College Trained Adults," *American Journal of Sociology* (September 1941).

that were to be fulfilled in the peaceful society. In the extension of total defense, civilian and soldier alike must believe that national goals are more important than individual goals.

Three types of identification of personal goals with national goals can be observed among different persons. There are those who believe that their personal goals will be achieved no matter what happens to the national goals. Secondly, there are those whose personal goals are expedited by the national goals. The man who wishes a career as army officer, military flyer, or merely a refuge from a nagging wife may find a new patriotism for the national goals. Thirdly, there are those who sacrifice their personal goals temporarily or permanently because of their belief in the greater importance of the national efforts. It is this third type of identification which has probably always brought the highest morale to army and civilian effort. Defense would be most efficiently carried forward if all individuals believed with intense conviction that personal goals were less important than the achievement of cultural values for which the national effort was presumably being directed.

We do know something of the sacrifices which a majority of persons are now willing to make. Weeks before the Burke-Wadsworth draft bill was passed by Congress, opinion polls showed the people supporting selective service by more than a two-to-one majority.[8] If the sampling in the Gallup poll is a representation of our entire population, 75 per cent of the workers would be willing to work overtime at the same rate of pay if it would help speed up the defense program. Six in every ten Americans believe that employees of defense industries should not have the right to strike even if the employees believe they are underpaid. Seven in every ten believe the Government should take over every factory that refuses to make defense materials at a reasonable price. There seems to be no doubt that the sentiment for action is tangible and real. Dr. Gallup says, "Even the most rabid advocate of military preparedness may

[8] George Gallup, *The New York Times* (August 30, 1940).

be surprised to find how far the public is willing to go toward re-arming the country."[9]

3. National morale is geared to the confidence which the people have in their leaders. Military leadership has a new prestige and a grave responsibility. Belief in the political, industrial, and scientific leadership is also very important in the total defense against total warfare.

4. A people might be convinced that their leaders are of the highest caliber and that their social institutions are superior and yet national morale might be low. Necessary ingredients include the belief that, regardless of the military or economic threats to the national security, resources are available to hurl back any such threats. It is on our tremendous productive equipment turned upon manufacture or agriculture that much of our national morale is based.

5. If we engage in military warfare another factor would receive a new importance. That factor is the confidence that civilian and soldier alike can hold in the belief that the ends for which he is fighting can actually be achieved when the war is over. The energies of a society of men cannot be marshaled for the preservation of institutions presumed decadent and lost in spite of military victory.

It can be said that not only youth but all age groups have and are experiencing economic insecurity. However, certain group values remain important. Among these is the right of the people to have a part in formulating the governmental policies under which they shall live. Their ability to enjoy the sacrifice for the defense of these values depends upon the confidence they have in the following: (1) that their social structure is superior; (2) that the achievement of national goals is far more important than the achievement of personal goals; (3) that their leaders are competent; (4) that the resources of the nation are capable of hurling back any threat; (5) that the ends for which the nation strives can be achieved and maintained in the midst of the disorganizing forces which sweep in the aftermath of war.

[9] George Gallup, *ibid.* (January 4, 1941).

### THE RELATIONSHIP OF YOUTH TO NATIONAL MORALE

1. *Attitudes of youth.* It has been pointed out that youth are struggling with much the same economic problem with which all age groups are grappling. It is a matter of import to know whether youth will respond to the national effort with a determination equaling the older segment of the population. For information, the opinions of youth are examined.

Back in 1937 and 1938 before the European war was declared and the threat to the United States was only dimly perceived, a poll of Maryland youth showed that 6 in every 10 regard war as a needless and preventable occurrence. Over 13,000 Maryland youth were asked what they would do if war were declared. The young men were asked what they themselves would do; the young women were asked how they would advise their brothers, fathers, or sweethearts. Three out of every ten said they would volunteer. About a third would wait for the draft. One in ten said he would go if invasion threatened. About one male youth in every ten said he would refuse to go.[10] It must be remembered that no generation has probably been so bombarded with propaganda against war as the present one. In spite of these influences and in spite of the difficulties which youth has encountered in finding steady, respected, and challenging jobs, eight male youth in every ten state they would fall in line if they were called.

Events have since taken place to put these attitudes to other tests. When the American people were called upon to decide whether young men should be drawn into peacetime military training, Dr. Gallup took a poll of public opinion. In August 1940, he sent his interviewers to seek out young men between the ages of 16 and 24. These persons were asked, "If the draft law is passed, will you personally have any objection to spending a year in some branch of military service?" Eight in every ten between the ages of 16 and 21

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[10] H. M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story* (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1938), pp. 240–246.

said he would have no objection. Seven out of ten between the ages of 21 and 24 answered that he would have no objections."[11]

In the first Gallup poll specifically designed to reach a cross section of the 21 million youth between 16 and 24 years of age, further evidence of the verbal support from youth can be found. When asked, "Under selective service, will you, personally, have any objection to spending a year in some branch of military service?" 76 out of every 100 answered that they had no objection. Their outlook on their opportunities in civilian life was shown to be very optimistic as 87 out of every 100 said they had as good a chance to get ahead as their parents had.[12] We can conclude from these polls of youth opinion that 80 per cent is a fairly reliable proportion of the youth who are now willing to make heavy sacrifices for the national defense. This support is equal and among the younger of the youth better than the support given by the adult population.[13]

2. *New factors in the social situation that affect youth in 1941.* One of the most important of all the new factors affecting the population in 1941 is the reëmployment of workers who are now being added to pay rolls at the rate of 300,000 per month.[14] At the present rate of employment it is estimated 4,000,000 more persons will be employed in 1941.[15] The War Department in this same year will have increased the Army at least one and a half million men over the strength of December 1939, and it has announced that it plans to maintain an Army totaling over 2,000,000 men in 1942.[16]

The training of men for defense work in civilian life is being pushed with vigor. Estimates vary but it can safely be said that the United States Government will train about four million workers for

[11] George Gallup, *The New York Times*, August 30, 1940.
[12] George Gallup, "American Youth Speaks Up," *Reader's Digest*, 37 (October 1940), 51–54.
[13] *See* George Gallup, *The New York Times*, June 2, 1940; June 23, 1940; August 30, 1940; January 4, 1941; February 8, 1941; and succeeding polls. For a contradictory point of view in regard to college men *see* Gaynor Maddox, "Conscription Hits the Campus," *American Mercury*, 52 (May 1941), 558–566.
[14] Sidney Hillman, "Labor Division," *Defense*, 2 (January 28, 1941), 10.
[15] Sidney Hillman, *Defense*, 2 (January 7, 1941), 8.
[16] *Defense*, 2 (January 22, 1941), 2.

specialized defense jobs in 1941. The regularly established vocational school will handle the bulk of this training under the supervision of the United States Office of Education and the State Vocational Boards. Other groups training men are the Civilian Aeronautics Authority, Army Air Corps, Navy, Maritime Commission, National Youth Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, and Engineering Colleges.[17]

3. *False notions now current*. There is a prevalent feeling that the unemployment problem is now "solved." This is not true. Although the labor reserve is being reduced. The Twentieth Century Fund, in its latest research report on Labor and National Defense, says "it would be wrong to conclude that all employable workers will have jobs by the end of 1942." Moreover, many of the unemployed will not be absorbed because they are in the wrong places or occupations, and it is estimated there may be unemployment of one or two millions at the peak of defense production.[18]

There are some who infer that the vocal support for defense measures connotes a morale which is enduring. There is reason to believe that a national morale strong enough to endure hardships and disasters springs from a deep-rooted belief in the justice of the cause. The extent to which all segments of the population demonstrate from day to day their willingness to sacrifice in the defense of an ever more complete democratic society will largely determine the persistence of high morale. In democratic thinking there is no acceptance of special privilege and prerogative. Every violation of this part of our mores will lower national effort.

In the midst of a market needing skilled labor in particular trades or localities there are those who will now refuse to think of plans for unemployed youth. These are the short-run minds who are unable to grasp the significance of the problem of employment—a problem

[17] *See* condensed chart guide "Defense Job Training," *School Life,* 28 (April 1941), 214; or Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.
[18] The Twentieth Century Fund, *Labor and National Defense* (New York, 1941), p. 14.

which will some day face an American economy that is no longer stimulated by defense orders. In contradistinction, the long-run view evaluates the various possibilities for the employment of youth under more normal conditions in civilian life. The American Youth Commission is giving a great deal of attention to the investigation of work camps for youth. Furthermore, the Commission has investigated the occupational opportunities open to youth. Two very important conclusions have emerged. (1) More education is not by itself an answer to youth unemployment. From a sample believed to be representative of 70 per cent of all American workers it was found that slightly over two thirds of the jobs in American industry demand nothing beyond an elementary-school education for successful performance. Twenty-four per cent require high-school attendance or graduation and only 9 per cent require as much as college attendance or graduation. (2) Specialized vocational training is not by itself an answer to youth unemployment. About 1 out of every 10 jobs is so simple that it requires no training on the job. In 6 out of every 10 occupations normal production can be reached by workers in one week or less. In only about 1 out of every 10 of the occupations was it found that a worker's capacity to reach normal employment required a training period of six months or more.[19]

There is a cry being raised by some persons that our civilization has become soft and that there is a need to alter our institutions so that toughness, discipline, sternness, and virility are inculcated in our youth. James Marshall has made the following reply to such advocates. He says, "Somehow all this sounds like the chest thumping of the middle aged who want to persuade and assure themselves and the world that they are a tough generation. It is like drum-beating to assure themselves of a generation of soldiers to protect them."[20]

[19] Howard M. Bell, *Matching Youth and Jobs* (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940), pp. 56–58.
[20] James Marshall, "Fallacies of the Faint of Heart," *School and Society*, 52 (April 12, 1941), 457.

## CONCLUSION

The ultimate solution of the youth problem is bound up in the solution of the social and economic problems with which the entire country and every section of the population is struggling. A short-run solution has been found in defense orders which promise to reduce unemployment by 1943 to what is, perhaps, an irreducible minimum of one to two million workers. About eighty per cent of our youth are now willing to make genuine sacrifices for the national goals which compares favorably with the support given by older age segments in the population. The grave problem that should be faced squarely is that of developing a type of training that will provide ability to adapt to the changing economic post-war period without jeopardizing present defense production. Otherwise the nation will revert to an economic situation more serious than before the defense program got under way.

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# REVIEWING THE RESULTS OF SOME
# GUIDANCE PROGRAMS[1]

### ALICE PAULINE STROUDE

With the belief crystallized that there is an increasing need for more definite social guidance for young people in school, and that the public school is the most logical and possible agency for carrying on such teaching in an adequate manner, the writer determined to find out what types of group work were being promoted most at the present time in the secondary schools. It was understood that social guidance was chiefly the responsibility of deans of girls in schools that had them. Hence, it was decided that contact would be established with schools through their deans to discover what was being done to bring about better social adjustment of high-school pupils.

More than a hundred schools from all parts of the country were contacted by letters to their deans of girls. The deans were asked to submit what they considered the most valuable group work sponsored by them or their assistants. From such contributions conclusions might be drawn or trends might be indicated.

The specific aims of the group activity programs described by the deans in their replies to the writer's letter were varied to a considerable degree, but the general objectives of all programs were similar. The deans and sponsors were striving to help young people make suitable adjustments to life during the critical years of adolescence. Some of those in charge of the school guidance initiated programs that were broad and generalized and that aimed at adjusting the rank and file of the students to a high-school life that looked toward worthy citizenship. These group activity programs functioned for an entire school year. They were built upon the cardinal principles of education and each program aimed at materializing some spe-

[1] Alice Pauline Stroude, "Controlled Group Activities for Improving the Social Adjustment of High School Pupils." Master's thesis, Duke University, Durham, N. C., 1940.

cific principle or principles, according to the descriptions given. There were other group activity programs of a more restricted nature that were designed to meet certain needs of the school or of a particular class of pupils. These programs did not have such a wide sphere of influence, but no doubt they served a definite need. As examples, there were several orientation programs initiated for the purpose of adjusting new pupils to the new schools of which they were a part. Likewise, group activity programs were formulated to give vocational guidance, to provide patterns for refined social conduct or which sought personality development. Finally, there were programs that served very particular needs in the school. These were designed for groups of pupils not suited to the regular group activities of the school curriculum, such as social misfits and various types of underprivileged pupils.

Certainly a guidance program to be adequate should be well balanced with some group activities formulated to achieve broad aims and to serve large numbers of pupils and others that are designed to meet special needs and to guide particular classes of pupils. The secondary school has become so complex that no general program of activities can fit all the problems of its student personnel.

An attempt was made to analyze critically the work being done for the purpose of discovering (a) what pupils were being served best by the work; (b) what desirable outcomes were being realized; and (c) what undesirable outcomes, if any, had resulted from the group activities.

In order to make this critical analysis of the activities discovered, it was decided to get the reactions of as many as possible of those persons who had experienced the work. It was the purpose to reach some conclusion as to what was best in the practices of social guidance as discovered in the secondary schools and what probably should be remedied. It was a further purpose to get a vision of the problems of the future and an insight into how they probably may

be solved. The evaluations of the group activities from those who experienced them are strictly value judgments. No objective measuring stick has been set up as yet for testing the worth of social guidance even though such an instrument is extremely important in evaluating such work. If the guidance program is to go forward, as there is reason to believe it will, there should be better ways and means for directing its course.

However, the writer did work out an evaluation sheet as a means for those who experienced the group activities to evaluate their favorable and unfavorable outcomes. Certain objectives were kept in the foreground when formulating this evaluation check list. These were (1) to discover what pupils were being served best by the work, (2) to learn what desirable outcomes were being realized, (3) to learn what undesirable outcomes had resulted from the group activities, and (4) to give the evaluator an opportunity to tell what he considered the greatest value, weakness, or both, in the program he experienced. The evaluation check list was constructed around these objectives.

To discover what pupils benefited most from the group activities, types of pupils were considered (1) from the standpoint of scholarship and (2) from the standpoint of personality traits. Hence, the classifications of superior, average, and dull were used for scholarship and aggressive, inferior, timid, and popular were used for classifying personality traits. These types were chosen as exemplifying the commonly known kinds of pupils with which the public school has to deal.

To achieve the second objective, a check list of possible desired outcomes was made. The items chosen for this list were made to parallel all aims and objectives of secondary education. They were (1) standards of fair play, (2) coöperation with and good will toward fellow workers, (3) responsibility, (4) loyalty and teamwork, (5) self-control, (6) wholesome ideals, (7) initiative, (8)

tolerance, (9) good judgment and sense of evaluation, (10) mental and physical poise, (11) better student and faculty understanding, and (12) self-confidence.

Another list was made that suggested possible undesirable outcomes. Those items were (1) inferiority felt by some, (2) competition was fostered that produced unfair play, (3) jealousy resulted, (4) lowered scholarship by taking too much time from studies, (5) individual isolation developed, (6) snobbery resulted, (7) exaggerated personal evaluation resulted, (8) disorganized school program while activity was in progress, (9) personal gains sought rather than group welfare, and (10) standards of participation not democratic.

In both sections of the evaluation sheet that were devoted to possible desirable and undesirable outcomes, a special space was provided for the evaluator to indicate any desirable or undesirable outcomes that the lists did not suggest but that he felt had been results of the group activity he experienced. This was done to ensure the discovery of such reactions as might otherwise escape attention, since the check lists may not have covered all outcomes of the group activities.

An analysis of the findings showed that most activities seemed to foster similar values. These group programs had several desirable outcomes in common; namely, (1) coöperation and good will resulted, (2) students learned to assume responsibility, (3) better student and faculty understanding resulted, and (4) students learned to be self-confident. The writer makes this statement in view of the fact that more than fifty-four per cent of all the respondents thought that those values were outcomes of the group work that they experienced. Other values that were noted for particular programs but not realized as results of all activities were no doubt due to the special nature of the programs. The activities initiated for certain types of pupils and with particular aims might be expected to produce results quite different from those obtained from activities de-

signed to serve the rank and file of pupils in the school. However, both types could be valuable. No well-balanced guidance program could be built around any type of pupil or any few objectives. All types of pupils and all objectives of secondary education must be served if a guidance program is to be adequate.

Two questions were asked of all who evaluated the group activity programs, which gave them the opportunity to express themselves freely: (1) what do you consider the greatest value of this program, and (2) what do you consider the greatest weakness in the program? While the comments were many and varied, they did fall into certain large divisions.

The favorable criticisms were chiefly of two types: (1) opportunities and benefits realized by the individuals who had the experiences, and (2) values received by the group. The persons who expressed dissatisfaction with the programs presented difficulties that were (1) individual in nature and were experienced by certain pupils, and (2) group problems that affected all in an equal manner.

The group activities produced several distinct values of a personal nature according to the evaluators. The opportunity for self-expression and for developing talents was favorably emphasized. Students were given the chance for exploring their musical, dramatic, oratorical, and artistic abilities through participating in programs, plays, and committee work. The remarks of a few students are quoted here that were typical of those praising self-expression and the development of talents as significant values of group work.

The club work helped me to overcome shyness and the feeling of inferiority. The informal atmosphere of the group work encouraged self-expression (student from Houston, Texas).

The discussions we had put us to thinking and if we had anything we wished to say, there was an opportunity for expressing ourselves (student from Canton, Ohio).

For the first time in our lives we girls found through this club that we had the ability to express ourselves and do as well as many pupils we had envied for years (student from Elkins Park, Pennsylvania).

We developed a pride in having something worth while to say and then saying it well (student from Port Washington, New York).

Personality traits were emphasized and we tried to give expression to the best that was in us (student from Lexington, Kentucky).

Through participation we improved our ability to express ourselves (student from Lincoln, Nebraska).

We had the chance to develop and demonstrate our talents in music, plays, etc. (student from Indianapolis, Indiana).

The pupils in their rambling, youthful manner tried to express the feeling that the group activities stimulated an interest in their conduct. Some said they began to think seriously of what the adult world expects of young people, and chose certain ideals that seemed good and essential.

The replies gave evidence that youth struggles dramatically for a satisfactory plan of living so that it can be recognized and respected by the group. It was evident that youth was bewildered and grappling for some ideals that promise a good life.

Among the group values credited to the group activities, coöperation and good will were considered most important. Students were lavish in their words of praise. They expressed the opinion repeatedly that they worked together and played together for the common good. Several students said that they got the "we" feeling because they were not working for selfish purposes. One student from McKinley High School, Canton, Ohio, wrote, "We learned that with every privilege there is a responsibility, and that freedom comes through discipline. The cooperation and good will we put into the campaign taught us more than most of us realize." One senior class president wrote, "We are born as individuals, but our life is spent constantly in the presence of others. It is important that we cultivate a well rounded social development. Success in life is not found individually; it is found by working with others."

One teacher who volunteered her evaluation expressed her belief that many adolescent group patterns are dangerous for young people because they are determined by gang heroes and rowdies. Unless steps are taken to show them the values and satisfactions of well-

organized and planned group activities, she thought it was only logical that they would acquire any patterns that were in the foreground of their environments.

The personal and group values recognized as outcomes of the programs by those who experienced them seemed to fulfill the aims and objectives of secondary education. At least four of the Seven Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education were recognized; namely, worthy home membership, citizenship, worthy use of leisure time, and ethical character. Likewise, the desired outcomes claimed for the activities fulfilled the recommendations of the two principles stated by the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Education Association. The two recognized principles were: (1) that each pupil was to develop his own personality through activities which in themselves contributed to social well-being, and (2) that each pupil should develop the knowledges, interest, ideals, habits, and powers which would equip him to do his bit to lead society on to nobler ends.[2]

The volunteer value-judgments of the group activities expressed by the evaluators are summarized and repeated here to give a better picture of how well they fit into the pattern of the aims and objectives stated for secondary education.

SUGGESTED GREATEST VALUES OF THE GROUP ACTIVITY PROGRAMS

### (Personal Values)

(1) Opportunity for self-expression; (2) opportunity for developing talents; (3) wholesome companionships and friendships formed; (4) personal ideals developed; (5) leadership developed; (6) self-reliance fostered; (7) learned to assume responsibility; (8) learned the value of kindliness and hospitality.

### (Group Values)

(1) Coöperation and good will resulted; (2) group ideals fostered; (3) established patterns for social conduct; (4) fostered better human relations in daily life; (5) became aware of obligations to others; (6)

[2] *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 35 (1918), pp. 7–16.

learned the value of service; (7) achieved pride in group work; (8) developed group loyalty; (9) learned the value of teamwork.

<center>SHORTCOMINGS AND WEAKNESSES IN THE PROGRAMS

AS SEEN BY THE EVALUATORS</center>

There were some comments pointing out how the group activities failed to meet the needs of the pupils. Like the constructive criticisms, these were of two kinds; namely, (1) those individual in nature, (2) those pertaining more to the group. These were few as compared to the favorable outcome claimed for the group activities. However, it is interesting to notice what were considered weaknesses in the programs.

Jealousy was considered the most undesirable outcome of the group activities that affected the individual. The views of the evaluators concerning the causes of such reactions were different. The adult evaluators thought that self-consciousness and weakness of character in individual pupils were to blame. The students, on the other hand, felt that the activities themselves gave rise to the undesirable outcomes.

A few persons reported snobbery as a result of group programs while a few others complained of exaggerated personal evaluations. They felt that snobbery developed because some were able to dress better than others. They claimed that these students formed little groups of their own and ignored the others.

The one weakness affecting the group that was expressed most often by the evaluators was that not enough pupils were participating in the group activities sponsored by the schools. The groups were small in some cases and limited in number, pupils stated, which meant that a comparatively small number of the pupils had the opportunity of participating in them. Students also complained of not having meetings often enough to accomplish what they had planned. Many students said that there were too many assemblies and all-school programs where a few had the stage and participated while the greater number in school looked on. They said that they

preferred more small group activities because they gave large numbers a chance for participation and recognition.

Closely associated with the weakness just stated was the opinion of some evaluators who thought that not enough time was given to organized group work in the secondary schools. Pupils complained that committees, clubs, and other group activities were rushed through a short period of maybe twenty minutes in length and lost much of their usefulness. There was a definite feeling expressed that much of the group work was hurried and defeated its own purpose. Those who made the criticism thought that regular periods during the school week should be devoted to such work. Some teachers wrote that they knew that more time should be given to group participation, but that it was difficult to do so when the school day was already crowded. Deans stated their difficulty in getting teachers to sponsor clubs because of heavy teaching schedules, large numbers of papers to grade, and lesson planning. A considerable number of students thought that some teachers should be freed from full-time teaching schedules to aid in sponsoring group activities.

Another criticism that deserved consideration was the failure of having any follow-up work in connection with the programs of group activities, to evaluate them. Only a few of such criticisms were made and they came mostly from teachers, although a few students expressed the same feeling. The opinion was expressed by both students and teachers that since social guidance was becoming more important in the secondary school some follow-up work was necessary to discover its results. Surveys of pupil interests and community needs were named as logical guiding factors in setting up worthy group activities.

The other group weaknesses reported were few and localized calling attention to the fact that each school has its own problems that must be solved according to its own needs.

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# SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND
# OF RETARDED CHILDREN

ALICE BELL FINLAYSON

The problem of retardation in relation to social and economic backgrounds has been pursued very sparingly. In fact, studies have been made of retardation with mental backwardness as a pet theme. This backwardness concerned itself with low intelligence and/or physical defects as the potent influence of retardation. Then, too, educational sociology has laid special emphasis on delinquency rather than on retardation.

A recent study was made of the educational, social, and economic backgrounds of thirty-six children in a sixth-grade classroom. It was found that these children were all educationally retarded; that is, according to the age-grade standard of placement, they were in a lower grade than their chronological age warranted.

Further study of these children revealed that of the thirty-six cases, three were in a superior class of intelligence and twenty-seven were normal or average in mental ability. The other six were classified as dull, according to the Kuhlman-Anderson Intelligence Test. These facts did not give substance to the theory of low mentality as a causal factor of retardation. Upon examination of the physical defects of these cases, no serious defects were apparent. Therefore, this theory had to be eliminated.

A closer study of the daily educational achievements of each case revealed a clue to the individual problem. These clues were manifested in the statements given by each case as to their condition of progress or retrogress of achievement in such studies as language, reading, arithmetic, and spelling.

It was revealed that in many cases parents of these children are away from home all day working. Their children are allowed to grow up uninhibited and undisciplined. The parents can demand little or no standards of conduct. The child, without the exercise of

authority, is free and unhampered. A few cases indicated that circumstances at home were not conducive to study. For instance, a smaller brother or sister had to be cared for, or a brother or sister was annoying the student child, and no studying could be done. There, too, were those who worked to help finance the family. All these vital factors determine the child's personal conduct and his attitude toward society. They are, of necessity, conditioned by his economic and social status.

For further study of this situation the author offers an analysis of the socioeconomic background of thirty-six retarded Negro children in Washington, D.C., as the main factor contributing to their retardation. Each child furnished a detailed account of his home life and of such backgrounds as they could tell. These accounts included such information as a description of the home, sleeping conditions, the meals, how they were planned and served, their recreation, any member of their family about whom they wished to write and anything they felt significant enough to write. Parents, guardians, and other relatives were invited to the school. In most instances the home was visited at least once. Thus, the child was seen in the atmosphere of his home. Valuable information was given by adult members and children in the home.

Since all the material collected lent itself to social and economic aspects of these cases, they were so arranged and studied. The findings indicated sufficient justification to substantiate the thesis that the social and economic backgrounds of these thirty-six cases have contributed to their retardation.

The findings further indicated that of the thirty-six cases represented in this study, twenty originally came from extreme southern regions of the United States, sixteen were born in the District of Columbia. All now live in the District of Columbia; but that section of the District in which they now live is designated as the area of delinquency and crime, the commercial zone, and rooming-house area.

It is a known fact that southern conditions for the Negro are deplorable. The lack of legal extension of the term where school attendance is compulsory, lack of adequate supplies and materials, lack of trained teachers, and lack of participation with more progressive cultures have been instrumental in retarding the progress of southern Negroes, both adults and children. Even though the southern Negro leaves the South and the plantation system with its survivals of slavery patterns, its influences have been found so ingrained that their remnants are still left and felt. Negroes from southern localities have little material of culture to pass on to their offsprings.

Those sixteen cases not originating from extreme southern localities were born and have lived in that section of the District of Columbia designated as the low-rent districts, the commercial and rooming-house areas, and the zones of delinquency and crime. A rather detailed property inventory of the District of Columbia including Census Tracts 46, 47, 48, 49, and 86 in which these children are all located is given. In this community there are approximately 2,962 single-family detached homes such as the kind that are considered eyesores. The physical aspect of this community helps to make up the physical environment in which these children live. During 1937 the arrests exclusive of traffic violations during the first six months totaled 3,381. Juvenile arrests have approximated 240. In one year 850 children were reached by certain group-work agencies. The infant mortality rate has been 136 from certain causes. The general death rate in recent years has been 481 with a total Negro population between 3 and 18 years being 9,733.

These objective considerations lend their influence as possible factors that are responsible for poor school showing in respect to age. Just as a plant requires sun, soil, and rainfall, so do the intellectual and social components of a child's personality need favorable conditions, lest growth be stunted. Geniuses overcome the handicaps of surroundings, but our educational system is based on the ability of the average child rather than the exceptional one. The

children merely represent the unfinished products of a schooling which cannot materially influence the backgrounds of environment and culture. It can, however, provide a favorable school environment specifically adapted to their needs through establishing a special school. Such a school would have to be created for these children with such equipment and facilities as would encourage and stimulate educational responses. Such an institution would of necessity have to respond definitely to the studied needs of the specific group.

Aside from the more objective aspects of the physical environment which have influenced the retardation of this group of children, there are those aspects of these cases which reveal themselves in the attitudes toward family and environment which represent undistorted firsthand evidence of status and reaction to the local situation. This information was revealed in a sheaf of children's statements. Their attitudes toward the school, the home, the neighborhood and neighbors, and toward themselves were evidenced in these Children's Documents, one of which is enough to establish a case in point:

E.D. is a tall, thin, untidy girl of 15 with face full of unsightly pimples. She is light brown in color. E.D. is a truant. She doesn't like to come to school because she doesn't like to work. She doesn't like to stay at home because there are too many people there. They get on her nerves. She shows evidence of wanting nice things. She says "I work every day after school. I wanted to buy a lamp to sit in my room. So I got my lamp at last. I will be glad when I get a job and get more money to buy what I want." E.D. doesn't like her neighborhood because "they drink and fight in the houses like cats and dogs. Mother told me not to play with them because the children are too nasty to play with. They always like to fight and like to cut." Without economic security, and social status, without parental influences and guidance, E.D., filling the supplied need, is left to drift and mold her own personality.

The general looseness and laxity of home life has in most instances been a means by which loose and careless patterns of behavior have

been practised to the extent that law and order have little significance in the daily routine of their lives.

The school has a difficult task in combating the detrimental forces within the environment of these children. Even the churches and religious cults as depicted by them add to their retardation by exacting relatively high financial returns. In the final analysis, the level of social existence that is offered in this group is not such as to foster the normal development of children's faculties.

Part of the study is greatly concerned with such economic backgrounds as may be derived from an analysis of the occupations and incomes of the parents of these children in terms of their effect upon the retardation among these children. Occupations for these southern Negroes are still limited to those channels in which they were first confined. The Negro is not allowed the education that would permit him to enter other occupations. His chances for becoming anything other than a farmer, a laborer, a barber, or a domestic are few. These uneducated Negroes added to those who were originally born in Washington make up the population in this community. They are uneducated and so cannot choose their occupations. Their incomes are limited and hardly permit of more than a bare living.

Because of the economic status of these thirty-six cases, they are confined to a community from which they can receive little to ensure progress. The limited contacts cause limited responses to social objectives. Society here is limited to the extent that wider contacts are not experienced. Behavior patterns are limited to the precepts of the group to which these cases belong.

All of the original occupations are classified as laborers and domestics, with the exception of cases 1 and 2 where one original occupation is fisherman, and the other a trapper, and these may be classified as laborers.

Of the thirty-six cases, twelve parents or guardians were originally laborers, others were laborers such as fisherman, trapper, truck driver, street cleaner, and miner; five were domestics. These people,

for the most part, were illiterate; the majority of them having come from those southern sections of the United States where education for the Negro was not available, and the others being born in Washington, but had not availed themselves of the educational advantages offered. Their occupations have been determined by the extent to which they are educated.

Uusually the mother is too tired to look after her family when she finally gets home. She seldom participates in the activities of her household. She is too worried about the next month's rent and the grocer's bill to be concerned about the social development of her brood. Parental attitudes toward society are influenced by the status of living and are therefore unfavorable. Patterns of behavior are fashioned by this status which in turn is controlled by their occupations.

In many instances the father and mother pool their wages to maintain the family budget. Usually the father is a laborer and the mother a domestic. These cases show a stability and consistency of monthly income but the maximum income received by the chief wage earner is not more than sixty dollars and that of the mother a maximum of fifty dollars per month. Cases showing the "relief" assistance are not numerous because many who were previously so classified have been given WPA jobs. In fact, this is the case of many of the laborers and some of the part-time domestics. However, when assistance is given directly from relief agencies the income seldom exceeds that of sixty dollars.

It may easily be seen that the low incomes of the parents and guardians of these thirty-six cases hardly afford enough to supply the means of a bare existence. In no case does the monthly income exceed that of $125, and in this case there were nine in the family. With these small salaries, ranging from $63 to $125, monthly rents from $8 to $60 are paid. The limited reactions are in response to limited incomes which control and bind the experiences within the realm of the income level which in turn contributes toward re-

tardation of these children. The families varied in size from two to eighteen. Many of those cases have been obliged to supplement their incomes, by roomers and other means which make it impossible for the child to live a simple, wholesome life unrestricted by detrimental social factors.

Little has been attempted here to include such subtler features of family life as contributing to retardation, although these factors would have been of extreme importance as formative influences in the lives of these children.

At one time, in the history of retardation, there was a period of strong belief in the close relationship between physical defects and retardation. In this study this theory had to be rejected on the basis of the material given. Physically these children do not form a separate group, nor is any particular physical condition found to be significant in relation to the progress of the child. Low mentality as the cause of much retardation has been accepted as truth for years. But the findings here indicate no confirmation, for there were three cases with superior I.Q.'s, twenty-seven of normal intelligence, and six rated dull. A more objective treatment of the subject of contributing factors toward the retardation of these children is the matter of their economic backgrounds, such as occupations and incomes of their parents. Children living under such a combination of circumstances as revealed in this study are very fortunate to be able to remain in school at all. The nature of the southern background of many of these pupils has been shown; the type of community is seen to be uniformly bad; most important of all, disorganized families offer no incentive for achievement. All of these factors together lead, in each of the cases studied, to retardation in school. Worse, they lead in some cases to chronic truancy, to delinquency, and in some instances to acute personal disorganization.

From the study of the basic social and economic conditions in the lives of such a group of people must come an educational program that must have a vital place in contemporary life. The school pro-

gram must exhibit a proper relation to the needs of the culture mass, that is, if the school is to take its role in the community, if it is to act as a means of social control. The public school as a great socializing and diffusing agency should endeavor to reduce the difference or inequalities among groups. It is to be hoped that in the future there will arise such educational institutions that would meet the specific needs of such a group as has been portrayed.

The school must assume its responsibility. It has taken over much of the role of the home and so must substitute favorable conditions for those unfavorable aspects that may be found in the home. In short, the school must create, where necessary, an environment that will lead to the development of high characters. The school must be effective in this; for here in America we have too long ignored, even beyond the danger point, the inequality that exists and we have not sought to fulfill the promise and hope of democracy.

The problem of Negro retardation is a serious one and can be solved in America only by a democratic problem-solving educational program through the school that must, in order to perform its function of social control, be of all the people, by all the people, and for all the people.

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# THE CHURCH AS A SOCIALIZING AGENCY

PAUL B. HORTON

Education, broadly conceived, may consist of the entire processes of socialization, and in these processes institutionalized religion has long assumed a powerful role. It is a commonplace observation that the church, once the center around which much of the social and intellectual life of the community revolved, no longer retains the dominant position it once enjoyed. Technological change has destroyed the unity and isolation of the local community, while the progressive differentiation of occupational, avocational, and artistic interests and attainments has operated to reduce whatever homogeneity the local community may have once possessed. Each of these processes impinges sharply upon the function of the church as a major social institution. Possibly some indications of present status and future tendencies may appear from a survey of the attitudes and opinions with which college students profess to regard the church.

A comprehensive questionnaire, one section of which considered opinions and attitudes toward Christianity and the church, was submitted to a presumably representative group of students in a midwestern State university in the spring of 1939. Distribution of sample by sex, major field of study, and denominational preference corresponded very closely with official figures for the entire university. Three hundred anonymous responses were secured in the classrooms, with practically every student responding.

A number of rather stereotyped characterizations of Christianity and the church were presented in order to approximate their currency among these college students.[1] Table I shows a preponderance of "favorable" characterizations, suggesting that Christianity and the church are viewed with considerable approval by most of the informants. It appears, however, that the church is somewhat less

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[1] The terms, "Christianity," "God," and "church" were not explicitly defined, as it was desired to secure responses to whatever these terms might mean to the informants.

## TABLE I

ATTITUDES OF 300 COLLEGE STUDENTS TOWARD CHRISTIANITY AND
THE CHURCH, 1939

| Proposition: To me, the word ("Chris-tianity" — "Church") suggests such ideas as (check several) | Responses | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Christianity | | Church | |
| | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent |
| *a. A beautiful and inspiring ideal . | 189 | 63 | 104 | 35 |
| b. An opportunity for service to humanity . . . . . . . . . | 174 | 58 | 137 | 44 |
| c. A morally helpful institution . . | 160 | 53 | 183 | 61 |
| d. A precious privilege of worship-ping God . . . . . . . . . | 95 | 32 | 84 | 28 |
| e. A means of personal salvation . | 84 | 28 | 67 | 22 |
| f. A program for social justice . . | 64 | 21 | 56 | 19 |
| g. Something I would like to be-lieve in, but cannot accept . . | 24 | 8 | 17 | 6 |
| h. An outworn superstition . . . | 10 | 3 | 11 | 4 |
| i. A decaying church . . . . . . | 9 | 3 | 19 | 6 |
| j. A lot of hypocrites who do not practise what they preach . . | 8 | 3 | 34 | 11 |
| k. A lot of "don'ts" . . . . . . . | 5 | 2 | 9 | 3 |
| l. An unpleasant duty . . . . . . | 2 | 1 | 5 | 2 |
| No answer . . . . . . . . | 2 | 1 | 4 | 1 |
| Total "favorable" (a–f)† . | 766 | 96 | 631 | 89 |
| Total "unfavorable" (h–l) . | 34 | 4 | 78 | 11 |

* Rearranged in order of frequency.
† Response "g" considered neither "favorable" nor "unfavorable," and not included in these totals.

highly regarded than is Christianity. While four per cent of the total responses concerning Christianity are "unfavorable," 11 per cent of the responses concerning the church are "unfavorable." This may indicate some dissatisfaction with the church as the institutionaliza-tion of Christianity. It may be significant that in another section of this study a considerable majority (60 per cent) of the informants

asserts that the church should "assume a prominent place of leadership in movements for social and economic reform."[2] It is also possible, however, that the greater proportion of "unfavorable" responses may simply illustrate a greater vulnerability to criticism of concrete organizations as contrasted with the vulnerability of abstract ideas, since the personalities, procedures, and other concrete elements in an organization provide the foci for possible antagonism and antipathy.

One of the determinants of students' general attitudes toward the church may be their impressions as to the motivation of active church participants. It is reasonable to assume that respect and admiration for the motives which impel church attendance and support would be conducive to an esteem for the church itself. Table II shows that about two thirds of the informants indicate a belief that motives which would probably be highly respected ("a" and "b") are either partly or entirely responsible for church support, although "habit" and "appearances" are considered compelling motives by about one half the informants. Seventy-six, or 26 per cent, checked *only* "a" and/or "b" (the "highly respectable" motives), while 44, or 15 per cent, checked neither "a" nor "b."

It is very commonly believed that people tend to assume the attitudes and values of those whom they respect and admire, and two questions were framed with this tendency in view. Sixty-five per cent of the informants checked the proposition: "I believe that the majority of the more intelligent, better educated people believe in God." (Alternative propositions: ". . . are uncertain whether to believe. . . ."—33 per cent; ". . . do not believe. . . ."—2 per cent) Eighty-eight per cent of the informants checked the proposition: "I believe that the majority of the more intelligent, better educated people are favorable to Christianity." (Alternatives: ". . . are indifferent to Christianity"—33 per cent; ". . . are unfavorable to

[2] *See* Paul B. Horton, "Social Orientation of the Church," *Sociology and Social Research*, 24 (May 1940), 423–432, for a detailed presentation of these data.

## TABLE II

OPINIONS OF 300 COLLEGE STUDENTS AS TO THE MOTIVATION
OF CHURCH DEVOTEES, 1939

| Proposition: *I think that the churches today find most of their followers among* (check several) | Responses | |
|---|---|---|
| | Number | Per Cent |
| *a. Intelligent people who feel that the church is of definite value in the world today . . . . . . . | 196 | 65 |
| b. Devout believers who want to worship God . . . | 191 | 64 |
| c. People who attend from force of habit . . . . . | 144 | 48 |
| d. People who attend for the sake of appearances . . | 132 | 44 |
| e. People who support the church because of fear . . | 74 | 25 |
| f. Those of the poor who like to dream about the riches of Heaven . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | 28 | 9 |
| g. Those of the rich and well-to-do who want to be told that their money-grabbing is not sinful . . | 20 | 7 |
| h. People who are "behind the times" in their thinking . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | 14 | 5 |

* Rearranged in order of frequency.

Christianity"—one per cent). One notes that "belief in God" is thought to be somewhat more widespread than the holding of an attitude "favorable to Christianity." Perhaps this contrast is an illustration of the familiar contention that ethical and moral ideals, being functional, are more important than inert doctrine. While the validity of this functional imputation and the accuracy of this belief may be debatable, informal interviews with informants suggest that many share the above contention.

As for the role of the church in the maintenence of "high moral standards" (table III), 23 per cent of the informants seem to consider the church "absolutely necessary," while 62 per cent indicate that the church is "helpful," but hardly essential. To a similar question about the value of Christianity to society, 39 per cent agree that "Christianity is indispensable, is absolutely necessary in the world

## TABLE III

OPINIONS OF 300 COLLEGE STUDENTS AS TO THE IMPORTANCE
OF THE CHURCH IN THE MAINTENANCE OF MORAL STANDARDS, 1939

| | *Responses* | |
|---|---|---|
| *Propositions* | *Number* | *Per Cent* |
| *a.* The church is absolutely necessary if high moral standards are to be maintained . . . . . . . | 71 | 23 |
| *b.* The church is helpful in maintaining high moral standards . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | 185 | 62 |
| *c.* High moral standards can be maintained just as easily without the church . . . . . . . . . | 35 | 12 |
| *d.* The church is a hindrance to the maintenance of high moral standards . . . . . . . . . . . | 6 | 2 |
| No answer . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | 3 | 1 |
| Total . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | 300 | 100 |

today," while 38 per cent take the position that "Christianity is of considerable value in the world today," and 21 per cent that "Christianity may be of some value in the world today."

Another question reads, "If some of the following (church, public high school, radio, automobile, motion picture) were to be completely destroyed, and forever removed from the world, in what order would you sacrifice them?" Of 297 replies to this question, 158 would surrender all the others before sacrificing the church, while 119 would reserve for the public high school this distinction.

A great majority of the college students here studied express attitudes quite favorable to Christianity and the church. There is very little evidence of bitterness or rancor. Yet the church does not seem to be regarded as highly as does Christianity, and there is evidence of some dissatisfaction with the church as the institutionalization of Christianity. It also appears that, while a majority of the attitudes and opinions expressed are highly approbative, much of this approval seems decidedly passive in nature. From other sections of this

study it is evident that many students who express attitudes of regard and esteem for the church place little credence in its doctrines and make little pretense of attendance or support. Although 158 of the informants profess to value the church more highly than the public high school, slightly less than one half of these 158 claim to attend as many as four religious meetings of any sort per month (Sunday school and church worship service considered as two meetings).[3] This suggests a problem basic to attitude testing; namely, how accurately do verbal reactions to a questionnaire indicate the genuine attitudes of the informants? Possibly they indicate rather those attitudes which the informants *wish people to believe* that they hold. It is very likely that in some cases there is strain toward conformity with one's conception of socially approved values.

It is generally conceded that the past century has seen a sharp decline in the ability of the church to dominate education and public morality. Furthermore, under the impact of industrialization and urbanization, with their attendant population mobility and anonymity, we have seen the diminishing solidarity of the family and the progressive atrophy of and escape from the informal social controls which have characterized the small rural community. The relative influence of three important social institutions—local community, home, and church—all devoted in part to the socialization of the succeeding generations, appears to have been declining and this has occurred during a period in which society has been growing more complex and the problem of adequate socialization more involved. Meanwhile, some newer institutions, especially the public school, the radio, the motion picture, and the press, have been assuming increasingly important roles in these processes of acculturation and social control. This partial replacement means that certain earlier institutions, operating for the most part through primary groups, with considerable personal interest and affection and often

[3] *See* Paul B. Horton, "Student Interest in the Church," *Religious Education*, 35 (October 1940), 215–219, for membership and attendance data on this group of informants.

a high degree of idealism are being supplanted in their socializing functions by other institutions which, excepting only the school, operate through secondary groups, are strictly impersonal in their contacts, and are motivated by purposes that are frankly commercial rather than idealistic. Since the control of the radio, motion picture, and press is vested in persons not immediately concerned with the educational outcomes, a number of tensions and conflicts of interest are suggested. Although a number of highly idealistic and socially minded persons hold influential positions in the radio, motion picture, and press, the fact remains that these are business organizations whose survival depends upon an expedient equilibration of commercial and social considerations; hence the "ideals" or "ethics" of the profession inevitably tend to be a reflection of more than a conscious manipulator of current values and standards.

Concurrent with the relatively declining influence of the local community, home, and church, the public school is falling heir to increasing responsibilities of acculturation and social control, and many educators see the public school as a principal carrier of idealism to succeeding generations.[4] Without denying the very great positive contributions which the public school can offer, it remains that the apparently subsiding efficacy of the church creates a deficiency that it is difficult to supply.

The vitality and effectiveness of the church, as with any other social institution, are the resultants of a number of interacting factors, including the faiths, loyalties, and participation of its members, the efficiency of its functionaries, and harmony among both functionaries and members as to primary postulates and essential objectives.[5] Accordingly, a prescription for strengthening the significance of the church as a socializing agency would need to consider the en-

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[4] Cf. and e.g., J. M. Viau, "Teaching For Social Efficiency," *Social Studies*, 29 (December 1938), 353–356; Joseph K. Folsom, "Education for Human Relationships," *National Parent-Teacher*, 33 (March 1939), 5–8.
[5] Cf., John F. Cuber, "The Measurement and Significance of Institutional Disorganization," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (November 1938), 408–414.

tire gamut of problems from church architecture to ecumenicism. Much of the current religious scholarship is directed toward this task of adapting the doctrines, emphases, activities, and organization of the church to a changing social milieu,[6] and recent surveys of church programs and policies indicate that many churches are striving, in one way or another, to meet the changing needs forced upon them in a dynamic society.[7]

It is not the function of the sociologist, as a sociologist, to present a concrete program for the church to adopt, especially since such a program must be orientated to the doctrinal tradition, the organization, the aims and objectives, and peculiar structure of the particular denomination in question. It may be pertinent, however, to suggest some general principles from which a program for augmenting the effectiveness of the church as a social institution might proceed. While these considerations are not new, their reiteration may be relevant.

1. Although some differentiation is probably desirable, it is doubtful whether any institution can be divided into numerous competing denominations without a sacrifice of efficiency. Dissipation of energies and duplication of activities and equipment are inevitable, with individual units far below optimum size. Both laity and clergy of most denominations desire a far greater degree of unity and coöperation than now prevails.[8]

2. The reactions of many college students and intellectuals indicate that if the institution of the church is to enjoy the allegiance of these groups, institutional functionaries whose ability and training command their respect must offer to them a religious philosophy

[6] J. H. Oldham, *The Oxford Conference* (official report) (Chicago: Willet, Clark and Company, 1937); Fred Clark, et. al., *Church, Community, and State in Relation to Education* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1938); Murray H. Leiffer, *City and Church in Transition* (Chicago: Willet, Clark and Company, 1938); H. Paul Douglass and Edmund deS. Brunner, *The Protestant Church as a Social Institution* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935).

[7] H. Paul Douglass, *One Thousand City Churches* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1926); F. Ernest Johnson, *The Social Work of the Churches* (New York: Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, 1930).

[8] H. Paul Douglass and Edmund deS. Brunner, *op. cit.,* pp. 326–355.

that is intellectually defensible and consistent with the spirit and method and content of modern science.[9]

3. It is suggested that the church will become functionally integral to the experience of the individual to the extent that it becomes the custodian of his most altruistic ideals, of his most cherished faiths and loyalties, and the fountain of their intensification. It is noteworthy that a significant number of persons, both within and without the church, claim to find the church inadequate as the institutional expression of their social and personal ideals, because of the social injustices and the inconsistencies between Christian values and current practice which they allege the church tacitly to condone.[10]

4. It is further suggested that the church will be functionally significant to the individual to the extent that he finds in the church a channel for his energies and activities—both the activities of those persons who seek companionship and recreation through the church, and of those social idealists who wish to share in the building of a more just and efficient social order and desire an institution through which to function. More recent emphasis upon the "social gospel" suggests the possibility that the church may play a more vigorous role in the social reform in the future.[11]

In the modern decline of veneration for traditions, authority, and established institutions, the church has not escaped unscathed. It is suggested that the future influence of the church as an agency of socialization and social control will continue to be conditioned upon its identification by the individual with the felt needs, both "spiritual" and temporal, of its members and of the whole of society.

[9] *See* Mary C. Van Tuyl, *op. cit.*
[10] E.g., Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932); *Christianity and Power Politics* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940).
[11] *See* F. Ernest Johnson, *The Church and Society* (New York: The Abingdon Press, 1935); "What 20,000 Clergymen Think," *The Nation*, 138 (May 1934), 524.

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# THE SCHOOL AND THE YOUTH HOSTEL

JOHN AND MAVIS BIESANZ

Present educational trends indicate that the youth hostel movement, already closely allied with education, will be increasingly recognized by educators as having possibilities for enriching the curriculum.

Since the first hostel was set up in Germany in 1910, students and school teachers, among others, were so active in this movement that in 1938 there were eleven million "overnights" in five thousand hostels in twenty-five countries. The forerunners of the movement were the *Wandervögel or* "birds of passage" of the 1890's and early 1900's, and the system of student hostels set up by Guido Rotter about the same time. Hostels open to all youth were first conceived by Richard Schirrmann. As a school teacher, he led his students on walks away from the smoky industrial city. Believing that "wandering is school in the open," and that the young should get away from "four walls and paved streets," he solicited civic agencies of all types for aid in establishing simple overnight lodges where all youth could stay inexpensively on their holiday wanderings.

Up to the outbreak of the present war hostels developed steadily along the lines sketched by Schirrmann, and are continuing to develop in countries at peace, while the movement has been slowed down but not stopped in countries at war. The main ideals accepted by all the hostel associations are health, a return to nature, education, joy and friendliness, and the furtherance of peace and understanding among people of different classes, religious and political beliefs, races, and nations. Cycling and hiking are the usual means of travel between hostels. A system of passes issued to all at a nominal fee and without distinction by the national associations and revoked by the hostel parents in charge of each hostel if the simple rules are broken is used to ensure good behavior.

The leaders of the movement have seen in "hosteling" many op-

portunities for education. Travel in itself is educative, they say, for contact with new places, persons, and ideas can scarcely fail to be stimulating. Also, hosteling enables the youthful traveler to come into closer contact with the people of the country than is possible for the average tourist.

Analysis of the other contentions appearing in hostel literature reveals that hosteling is believed to enrich the curriculum and develop character. For example, Mr. L. H. Weir, a member of the Executive Committee of American Youth Hostels, Inc., writes with regard to the first point:

The young people may study the geology, geography, botany, zoology, industry, commerce, agriculture, history, etc., of their country many years from books but unless they have the chance actually to see the natural resources, the natural life and the human activities of America, all this desirable knowledge is not really possessed by them. So we in the general recreation movement welcome a movement which develops a fundamental, first hand knowledge, and love of the nation as it really is. . . .

. . . No phase of the recreational-educational movement has ever stirred me more deeply than has the idea and ideal of hosteling. It is a part of progressive education and recreation at its best.[1]

This identification of hosteling with "progressive" trends in education is common, and may be understood through a brief comparison of their principles. Statements of the means generally emphasized by the various progressive schools include firsthand experience or activity, excursions, group planning, problem solving, self-expression, creativeness, and responsibility.[2]

One who is familiar with hosteling and hostel literature is struck by the recurrence of these emphases, expressed, of course, in differ-

[1] L. H. Weir, Field Secretary, National Recreation Association, "The Idea and Ideal of Hosteling," *Knapsack* (autumn 1937), pp. 15–16.
[2] Lester Dix, *A Charter for Progressive Education* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1939), p. 28; and Lloyd Allen Cook, *Community Backgrounds of Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1938), p. 339.

ent language. "Learning by doing," according to Justine Cline, a field worker in the Great Lakes region:

implies that one gains skills and attitudes by participation in such activities as cooking, skating, skiing, folk dancing, house cleaning, singing, or language study whenever the opportunity presents itself.

Another application of this principle of "active aggressive learning in life situations" appears in the belief that the hostel situation improves character and personality. The definition of the situation appears to be based on the idea of a proper balance of individual freedom and social responsibilities. One is "on his own," he must look after his own health and safety, cook his own meals, and make his own decisions. But as the hostelers' motto, "Not for myself but for the group," indicates, there are also group responsibilities. Particularly if one travels in a group, he must plan with others, consider their desires and needs, and be a good companion. At the hostel he must obey the "hostel customs"; the situation has been defined for him on the pass, in the literature, and by other hostelers as one which permits "no smoking, drinking, or misconduct," which calls for each person to do his share in keeping the hostel clean, and for going to bed and rising at fairly definite hours. Through this definition of the situation, it is implied, one's conduct is guided along certain desirable lines; he must express the qualities of coöperativeness, sympathy, self-reliance, and independence, and thus he incorporates them into his own character.

There is also a close identity of the objectives of hosteling with those of progressive education. Dewey's principles of education for democracy and the breakdown of barriers of class, race, and national differences are very prominent in hostel ideology. The hostel is conceived of as a "model world," a working democracy where there are no distinctions on the basis of class, race, religion, or politics, where all pay the same price and are treated alike. It is believed that

the hostelers of different groups will make friends with each other, and thus create understanding between their groups. This belief is the basis of the highest development of hostel ideology—the myth of a peaceful world community, a "brotherhood of man" brought about by friendly hostelers.[3]

Other points made include the wholesomeness of hosteling as a coeducational activity, its value in the unstable period of adolescence, and its contribution to a solution of the leisure-time problem.

Examples of the actual use of hostels for educational purposes are common. From the earliest development of hostels in Germany they were used by teachers and their classes, interested in such things as nature study, geography, or German culture. In 1919 support came from the Ministry of Education. A monthly *Wandertag* was instituted, on which each school child gave a pfennig to the hostels. Alexander and Parker spoke highly of the hostel excursions in 1932:

No better procedure or method than school excursions could be devised to fit the need of the new German schools today when they are seeking to educate children through self-activity, to unify the school curriculum around large centers of interest, to build their culture on native elements, to foster genuine social spirit, and to make school days a rich part of life's experiences.[4]

Poland adopted the movement in May 1926, when the Government set aside part of its grant to education for building youth hostels. From that time until the present war, hostels were closely associated with the Ministry of Education and were used for the teaching of civics. Says the Irish Hostel Handbook for 1936 of the Polish system:

City children went into the country, country children into the cities. . . . The children were asked to observe on these walks and excursions, not only the natural character of the land they saw, that is, not only from a

[3] *See* John and Mavis Biesanz, "Social Distance in the Youth Hostel Movement," *Sociology and Social Research* (January–February 1941), pp. 237–245.
[4] T. A. Alexander and Beryl Parker, *The New Education in the German Republic* (New York: The John Day Company, 1929), p. 49.

geographical, geological, and nature study point of view, but also to note the human side of the life and activities which they saw. Their observations were given in the form of a report when they returned to their Schools, the nature of which depended entirely on the child's natural bent.... Every phase of the nation's life, its habits and history was illustrated in one or another of these school reports.

Czechoslovakia also required a certain amount of hosteling before graduation. In Finland the main use is by student groups, usually of high-school age. There is an official school excursions bureau. In most countries, organizations of students and teachers have given backing to the hostel association. In America, in addition to numerous schools and colleges, the national board includes four representatives of the Progressive Education Association, representatives of the Boy's Club of America, the Office of Education of the Federal Department of the Interior, the National Commission for Mental Hygiene, Boy Scouts, the Child Education Foundation, and the National Student Federation of America. Dr. Mary E. Woolley, president emeritus of Mount Holyoke College, is national president of the American Youth Hostels.

The personnel of the movement, even where very little of the patronage has come from school groups on excursion, consists mainly of students and teachers. Early copies of the German handbook describe as many as 68 per cent of the hostelers as students, the remainder *Schulentlassene.*

A sample study of 5,358 overnights in eleven New England hostels from October 1938 to September 1939 reveals that 60 per cent were students, 9.3 per cent teachers, the only other large occupational group being the 12.8 per cent comprised of office workers. This proportion is probably typical of all countries.

An interesting sidelight is the establishment of an "AYH school" on a Meredith, New Hampshire, farm. Its main objective appears to be to apply the principles of hosteling to the education of children of high-school age. It "tries to be an entire democracy." Its guiding

principles are love of nature, activity, community living, and integration of courses.[5]

The American Association also sponsors trips under experienced leaders. Before the war, many groups hosteled in Europe, but attention is now directed toward Mexico and South America. Sponsored trips are also arranged for shorter distances. The leaders are chosen to guide the interaction along the lines of the ideological definition of the situation, or according to the "true hostel spirit."

One of the avowed purposes of American Youth Hostels, Inc., as stated in their constitution, is "To further and advance education throughout the country by encouraging all schools and institutions of learning to use hosteling in connection with their regular school work." Instances of such use are increasing. With the growing number of hostels and overnights, it will be interesting to watch further developments in the use of hosteling as a means of "informal education."

In summary of the relation of the hostel and the school: (1) Leadership, personnel, and backing of the movement have always overwhelmingly come from the field of education. (2) In many countries, hostels have been used to enrich the traditional curriculum. (3) The general aims and principles on which the various factions of "progressive education" agree are very closely related to the theories of the value of hosteling as expressed by hostel leaders.

[5] Muriel Dawkins, "The AYH School," *Knapsack* (spring 1940), pp. 10–12.

# BOOK REVIEWS

*Pan America,* by CARLETON BEALS. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940, 545 pages.

This journalist interpreter of the Latin American scene offers in his latest work a "program for the Western Hemisphere" in the coming new world order whose outlines are already visible. The program, intended not only for us, but for all the Americas, is designed to avoid the short-sightedness of both isolation and selfish imperialism.

While the United States is by no means self-sufficient where essential raw materials are concerned, the Western Hemisphere is very nearly so for all needs of modern industry. Our economic preparedness in the present world revolution can be assured, he believes, with the coöperation of the Latin American countries in a program of economic realities not platitudes, in the founding of a reciprocal system based on justice and fair play, mutual economic benefits and international law, free from aggression.

While one cannot deprecate the importance and wisdom of much of what Mr. Beals propounds, unfortunately his "plan" is not sufficiently concrete and the contradictions in his presentation are many.

*Children of Bondage,* by ALLISON DAVIS and JOHN DOLLARD. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940, 299 pages.

This study is introduced by a chapter on personality which makes much of the role of conditioning as a factor in human behavior. The introduction is followed by eight case studies of Negro children. The first three are studies of children of the lower classes, the next three are studies of the middle classes, and the seventh is a study of the upper class. The eighth is a study for the reader to try to analyze for himself. The case studies are followed with four chapters on "class and caste as training."

Taken as a whole, the book stresses the class distinctions of the Negro group as a factor in personality more than it does the role of caste. In the interpretation of the materials in the concluding chapters, however, the authors admit this overemphasis, and excuse it on the basis that "social class governs a much wider area of the child's training than do the Negro-white controls."

The book is somewhat disappointing if one expects it to shed much light on the impact of race upon a minority group. The case studies, except for the mention of Negro-white relations, sound very much like what one would expect from comparable groups of children selected from comparable classes of whites or any other racial groups. The greatest difference, the authors hold, is that the predominant majority of the Negro group functions on the level of the lower classes.

The case-study technique sheds significant light on these problems of adjustment. One cannot be sure, however, that the society is stratified on the basis which the authors empirically adjudged it to be; *i.e.,* upper-upper, upper, upper-middle, middle, upper-lower, lower-lower. An eight- or ten-point scale would perhaps be as convenient. We are all sure that there are differences, but are they not differences of degree, rather than of level?

These criticisms should not be construed to mean that the reviewer desires to detract from the value of the book. It offers another significant illustration of the contribution which sociology has to make to education. The last chapter entitled "Social Class and School Learning" should be read by every educator regardless of his position in the profession.

*Personality and Life,* by Louis P. Thorpe. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1941, 266 pages.

The author states that his purpose in writing this book was to present in nontechnical language the essential principles of sound personality development. He bases his program of personality building upon the socially constructed philosophy of life.

In the introduction he makes the following statement, "No treatise that fails to provide the reader with a broad grasp of the nature of basic human motives can hope to provide him with more than a collection of devices designed to help him get by." The reviewer fails to find that he has provided these bases.

However, the book is well written and will make excellent supplementary material for junior colleges and for laymen. Probably this is what the author desired. The book is written in nontechnical language and, as he states, it is not addressed to "scholars." Nothing particularly new is to be found in its pages, but it is always well to have evident truths put in language that the relatively uneducated people can understand. It should fill a distinct need for freshmen students and the layman.

*Abnormal Personality and Time,* by N. ISRAELI. New York: Science Press, 1936, 123 pages.

This book contains a series of studies on the outlook upon the future of a special group of mentally disturbed individuals. It is an experiment in "future autobiography" with various types of mental diseases. A number of case histories are reported. There is a limited discussion of the psychopathology of time.

*Ideology and Utopia,* by KARL MANNHEIM. Translated by LOUIS WIRTH AND EDWARD SHILS. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1936, 280 pages.

Professor Mannheim, who is lecturing at the London School of Economics since leaving Germany in 1933, formerly taught sociology at the Universities of Heidelberg and Frankfurt. His book *Ideology and Utopia* contains an interesting and analytical foreword by Professor Louis Wirth of the University of Chicago. Its excellent translation is due to Louis Wirth and Edward Shils of that university.

Professor Mannheim has divided his text into five parts. The first has been written primarily for the Anglo-Saxon public; the second, third, and fourth develop his theories of "ideology" and "utopia"; and the fifth is an article on the sociology of knowledge intended for an encyclopedia.

Ideologies, according to Professor Mannheim, "are the situationally transcendent idea which never succeed *de facto* in the realization of their projected contents." An idea is utopian which is incongruous in the situation in which it is held. Such utopian ideas tend to change and destroy the prevailing order when they pass into conduct. Ideologies, on the other hand, tend toward maintaining the existing order.

Professor Mannheim is not concerned with the "decline" and "decay" of modern civilization which has been frequently emphasized in recent years. His interest is in an analysis of how men actually think. He develops many of the points discussed by James Harvey Robinson in *The Mind in the Making*.

At least the first three quarters of the volume should be in the hands of teachers and social workers interested in thinking through the tangle of transcendental panaceas in which our age finds itself.

*Curriculum-Making in the Social Studies: a Social Process Approach,* by LEON C. MARSHALL AND RACHEL MARSHALL GOETZ. Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, American Historical Association, Part XIII. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936, 252 pages.

In this volume the Commission has given currency to a method of resolving the complexities of our social milieu for instructional purposes which cannot fail to make a strong appeal to that growing body of educators who are interested in a social-studies program that will "enable youth to participate effectively in a changing social order," looking toward actual participation *"with intent to control."* Without proposing the abandonment of older and better known approaches, the authors point out that this social approach is clearly a "needed next step" in curriculum-making. Our multifarious human activities may be grouped into six great processes: (1) that of adjustment to our external physical world, (2) that of biological continuance and conservation, (3) that of guiding human motivation, (4) that of developing and operating the agencies of social organization, (5) that of securing and directing cultural continuance and cultural change, and finally (6) the process of personality molding.

*Youth Welfare in Philadelphia,* by FRANCIS M. WETHERILL. Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company, 1936, 259 pages.

Much is being written these days regarding community organization for the care and treatment of youth. This volume is a timely contribution to this field especially as it concerns the dependent and delinquent child.

The study, of which the book is a journal report, was conducted to determine what agencies and personnel are working among adolescents, how effective they are, and what they are doing. In so far as possible, objective methods were used in conducting the investigation. The comparison of various types of institutional and foster-home care and the resulting recommendations should be of distinct interest to all working in this field.